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GOP Vice Presidency: Things may pop off with an explosive lack of restraint at the Republican convention next summer, say political reporters. If so, Nixon will bear the responsibility, for he has declared the Vice Presidential position open to all comers. Barring unforeseen events, the interest of delegates will concentrate on the No. 2 spot. A contest for VP may release much pent-up feeling that has not been and probably won't be vented during the next few months.

Much praise goes to Nixon for what is thought to be a very wise decision to open the race for his running-mate. Since Rockefeller submerged his bid for the No. 1 spot, the GOP rank and file takes much less interest in the Presidential campaign and party vitality is scarcely high. A contest for the Vice-Presidency next July, however, offers a chance to rally Republican spirit.

Such a development wouldn't be new to GOP convention history. Veterans recall how Harding and Coolidge got the nomination in 1920. The GOP convention of that year saw a deadlock between two front-runners for the Presidential nomination—Governor Lowden and General Leonard Wood. Party leaders in the famous "smoke-filled room" in a Chicago hotel resolved the matter by picking a compromise candidate, Senator Harding of Ohio, who proved acceptable to the convention. The delegates, however, had developed frustration because of the preponderant role of the party leaders, the close fight of the two front-runners and other circumstances; and an historic explosion resulted.

On the last day, the leadership too hastily decided upon Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin for the Vice-Presidential spot. The floor of the convention rebelled against this wish of the Harding inner circle and demanded that the place be given to a man who had successfully challenged the "labor bosses" of that day, Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts. (Cal had broken the Boston police strike the year before with the words, "There is no right to strike against the public safety, by anybody, any where, any time.")

A strong, utterly spontaneous demonstration for the Bay Stater, when Lenroot was placed in nomination, showed which way the wind was blowing. The leadership hastily withdrew Lenroot, and Cal was nominated for the Vice Presidency with a whoop. This outcome proved one of the few exceptions to the rule that a Presidential nominee can impose his choice for running-mate upon the party convention. (Coolidge became President three years later when Harding died.)

Not a few politicos in Washington ponder the question: who will be the Coolidge of the GOP convention in July, 1960?

Capitol Camera: Washington observers note that although Adlai Stevenson has not yet made himself "available" for the Democratic Presidential nomination, support for him comes from an interesting source: the East German (Red satellite) radio, which describes him as "a man with a positive attitude toward the problems of our time." This Red radio also seems disappointed in the lack of popular support for Hubert Humphrey's bid.

● *Congressional Quarterly* figures show that Senator Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), who is being challenged by Robert Morris for his party's senatorial nomination, has over a three-year period compiled one of the worst voting records with regard to inflation among GOP Senators.

● A recent visitor to Russia, Vice President of General Electric Francis K. McCune, reports that while the area of the USSR is about 2½ times that of the US, and its potential water power resources are also that much greater, this country currently produces about three times as much hydroelectric power as do the Reds. Speaking of communism in Russia, McCune observed, "The waste of this economic system must be fantastic."

● A visiting British jurist last week echoed a long-held opinion of many Americans when he told a University of Chicago audience that the US Supreme Court's notorious 1954 school desegregation decision was "more legislative than judicial." Lord Denning of Whitchurch—who, as Lord of Appeals in Ordinary in England, holds a position comparable to that of a US Supreme Court Justice—said that the power judges have in the US "to make or unmake laws" makes them responsible for the policy behind those laws.

● The attacks by the National Council of Churches on the Air Force Manual claiming left-wing orientation of the Council's leaders continue to backfire on the NCC itself. The Rev. Frank R. Hamblen, pastor of the Lima, Ohio, West High Evangelical United Brethren Church for eleven years, said he was resigning because of "the gradual infiltration of subversive affiliations in the National Council of Churches." Hamblen, who will lose his pension and security rights if he resigns, further declared: "My conscience will not let me continue to pastor a church affiliated with the National Council of Churches."

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Crusade for a Sound Dollar: "For lack of a crusade, the battle will be lost." Some veteran legislators—until now hoping for a national effort to ensure a sound dollar—are serving this stern warning.

They are pessimistic despite some developments in Washington quite favorable to cutting the Budget and passing economy measures, as follows:

(1) The spenders in the House signally failed to pass the inflationary "water pollution" bill over the President's veto last week.

(2) "Liberal" Democrats show no little fear of being labelled "wild spenders" (although they discreetly seek indirect avenues through which to push their boondoggling measures).

(3) Congressional leaders who have sounded out President Eisenhower at White House conferences describe him as "rarin' to go" in an attack on the Squanderbund.

Yet, despite these encouraging factors, the economy enthusiasts out in the country manifest no enthusiasm, nor any intention to duplicate the intensive publicity campaign which took place a year ago, with such good results. Mail arriving in the offices of members of Congress includes few appeals to "pare that Budget."

Congressmen and Senators who continue to battle for economy reiterate that they need a determined drive from the constituencies in behalf of reduction of the Budget; and they express dismay that last year's effort along these lines is not recurring. They recall the campaigns waged, a year ago, by such big newspapers as the Chicago *Tribune* and the Los Angeles *Times* which rallied constituents to write their members of Congress and urge them to slash the Budget.

In 1959, the Sound Dollar Committee, headed by adman James P. Selvage, sparked a nation-wide series of newspaper advertisements which inspired some healthy pressure on Capitol Hill for economy. This year, it is reported that money to pay for such ads is not forthcoming. Other organizations of this stripe seem uninterested in promoting such pressure on Congress by constituents. They map only generalized "education" literature on the "dangers of inflation."

As Representative Wint Smith (R.-Kan.) impatiently puts it, "We have plenty of that kind of 'education,' it's running out of our ears. What we need is organized pressure from our districts to back up good economy advocates and to stiffen the backs of those members who hesitate to vote 'no' on big spending bills."

The Hon. Owen Brewster, former Senator from Maine, sitting on the sidelines in the Capital, reinforces this plea and urges haste. He warns: "It's going to be a short session of Congress because of the Presidential campaign. Indeed, it will be shorter for such matters as Budget slashing, because the civil rights filibuster is slowing down committee work and thereby delaying the whole legislative process. After talking to many members, I am convinced that, unless economy drives from the grass roots get under way pretty soon, their effects will come too late to bring good results. There simply won't be time for action in Congress before the expected early adjournment."

Organization *now* and pressure on Congress *now*, added Representative Wint Smith, is an "absolute *must* for winning this year's battle in the war against inflation."

In Buenos Aires: Washington finds ironic reports of pro-Peron mobs shaking their fists at President Eisenhower's helicopter as it hovered over them in Buenos Aires. What hit the Potomac's political funny bone is that seated next to Ike in the "chopper" was a onetime champion of socialistic dictator Peron—Milton Eisenhower.

Ike's "liberal" brother visited Peron (then in power) in 1953. He returned singing the South American despot's praises and proposed to give a generous slice of foreign aid to Peron—who reportedly charmed Milton no end. Observers recall that Milton's pro-Peron lobbying was stopped only after Treasury Secretary George Humphrey and some of his top aides blocked adding to the $100 million in globaloney Peron had received under the Truman Administration.

The Chessman Case: A former prison cell mate of Caryl Chessman, recently saved from execution by Governor Brown's reprieve, substantially aided the convicted rapist to pressure the State Department in his behalf. Walter Trohan, long-time chief of the Chicago *Tribune's* Washington bureau, tells the story in a new syndicated column entitled Report from Washington:

"Chessman had a cell mate with whom he cooked up an elaborate plan to stir up phony sympathy to beat the cyanide pellet. The cell mate was to go to South America to promote and mail appeals for Chessman's release. The royalties from prison writings (of Chessman) financed the sympathy mission. President Eisenhower's current visit to South America dovetailed nicely into their plot."

Trohan reports that this elaborate letter-writing scheme showered Governor Brown of California with mail in behalf of Chessman, and at the State Department the letters inspired concern that the Chessman case might cause Ike trouble during his Latin American junket.

Trohan in his column recalls that the convict author was convicted of 17 crimes, including kidnapping and sex perversion. "One of his victims," remarked the columnist tartly, "has been in an insane asylum since her ordeal, but sympathy seems to have been reserved for Chessman rather than his victim."

Labor Front: The Standard Oil Company of Indiana scored a big victory recently over the International Union of Operating Engineers. When the latter struck the firm's refinery at Mandan, North Dakota, in 1958, Standard replaced the strikers and kept the plant running continuously until the company won a favorable settlement. Meanwhile, taking exception to hot-headed propaganda by the union, the firm sued the IUOE for libel and slander.

Last month—as a result of firmness rather refreshing to many in industry—the Operating Engineers caved in

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before Standard's law suit and issued the following statement:

"In September, 1958 . . . we issued severely critical statements concerning Standard Oil Company . . . following the Company's lawful refusal to give the Union a list of names of men entering the Company's refinery to work . . . . We recognize that Standard Oil Company had the lawful right during the strike to continue the operation of the refinery. Standard also had the lawful right to replace all striking employees by hiring new men to do the work."

Industry circles in the country register surprise and satisfaction at this concession on the part of a union. For much of management in the past has bowed to the will of labor bosses like Emil Mazey of Reuther's United Auto Workers. Mazey's dictum was that "no one has the right to scab despite the law" and he claimed that plants should be shut down during a strike.

● One Federal agency, the National Labor Relations Board, last week showed its tacit agreement with Mazey's second statement. The case concerned a Chicago baker who was picketed by the Retail Clerks' union, which wanted his clerks signed up in the union against their will. The bakery owner's bakers refused to cross the picket line, and the owner was forced to capitulate, since he couldn't afford to wait 30 days for the end of the legal period for recognition picketing.

But labor law experts point out that 30 days is the *maximum* period allowed for recognition picketing—that, if the NLRB had so desired, it could have halted the picketing at any time, even after one day's work stoppage, especially since the owner had filed a request for an election.

Why did the NLRB fail to do so? Washington experts on labor law point out that the agency is filled with Roosevelt-Truman hangovers prone to favor labor unions, and that the GOP Administration should have cleaned them out.

● Representative Clare Hoffman (R.-Mich.) deftly disemboweled Robert Kennedy's attack on GOP Senators Goldwater, Curtis and Mundt in a floor speech last week (*Congressional Record,* February 29). Kennedy in his book *The Enemy Within* defended the honesty of Walter Reuther. The Michigan legislator, long-time student of labor union evils, delivered a point-by-point answer to Kennedy. "The record," said Hoffman, "proves . . . that for at least 20 years Walter Reuther has deliberately, through his agents and goons, advocated violence . . . . No man is honest who habitually violates the law to enforce his own demands."

Connally Reservation: Although the recent "pigskin under the jersey" move to sneak through a Senate resolution to cancel the Connally Reservation to World Court jurisdiction has met solid conservative opposition, the "liberals" are merely winded on this one and the fight is far from over.

At a recent tension-filled session of the American Bar Association's House of Delegates in Chicago, the lawyers voted by a close margin not to rescind their 1947 opposition to the reservation. With their recent setback before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—a development for which alert patriotic groups and individuals are receiving no small credit—still fresh in mind, the "liberals" attempted to tout the delegates' vote as a big victory. As the legal smoke cleared last week, it was apparent it was anything but that.

Observers point out the switch of former critics to the Connally side. In 1947 *the House of Delegates, with a total membership of* 248, *condemned the Connally Reservation by a vote of* 85 *to* 45. *The recent vote upheld the* 1947 *position by* 100 *to* 93—*a margin of only seven votes. Thus, World Court supporters gained* 15 *votes, Connally supporters* 48.

Reports from Capitol Hill are that Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Fulbright, who favors the anti-Connally move, is reluctant to send the repealer to the Senate floor until he receives indications—notably from Republican leader Dirksen—that conservative opposition can be overridden and the two-thirds vote necessary to overthrow the Connally Reservation gathered.

Rockefeller: Doubt grows in the minds of political observers whether New York's Nelson Rockefeller will be able to launch the expected spring drive for the GOP Presidential nomination that his mammoth personal organization has been preparing since the Governor's December 26 "withdrawal."

Empire State indications are that the Governor is reaping the fruits of his "liberal" posture. His split with the Republican legislative majority has now taken the form of an open pitched battle. Reported the New York *Times* last week: "Coming on top of Mr. Rockefeller's difficulties with his fiscal program and his recommendations dealing with the construction of nuclear fall-out shelters these [legislative] reversals are proving extremely damaging. They raise questions as to his ability to command the Republican party in the state. A widespread public feeling that a political leader lacks the power to dominate his party can have disastrous effects . . . Mr. Rockefeller's heavy reliance on friends and acquaintances in New York City, most of them without any active political ties, in the formulation of his major programs, is causing some bitter resentment among some legislators . . . ."

Civil Rights Imbroglio: Amid the civil rights struggle there is no small concern on Capitol Hill regarding the possible long-term effects of a successful cloture move to cut off Senate debate. No cloture move has succeeded since 1927. Under the current rules a successful cloture move would require the support of two-thirds of Senators present and voting.

HENRY DWORSHAK, United States Senator from Idaho: "HUMAN EVENTS does an outstanding job of turning the spotlight on obscure places in the National Capital. I place a high value on your articles and information, and unhesitatingly recommend HUMAN EVENTS to those who would be well informed regarding governmental developments."

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Observers point out that the Senate is the deliberative upper house, and that assembly-line procedures could set a dangerous pattern for the future. They cite the ancient Washington saying that the legislative tea is "poured in the House and cooled in the Senate."

In the cot-strewn Senate corridors, cloture is feared by many, whether of the left or right. Senators dislike the idea of cloture because it could be used against any one of them on some other measures spelling political life or death.

Old Capitol Hill hands point out that the right of free Senate debate is geared to protect the minority and that ultra-"liberal" Senator Wayne Morse (himself a zealot for "civil-rights" legislation) at one time held the filibuster record (22 hours, 26 minutes in 1953) when he was in the minority on the tidelands oil issue.

A little publicized fact in the civil rights controversy was brought out last week by Senator Ervin of North Carolina. Civil rights bills and amendments before the Senate weigh five pounds in their printed form, while their sections dealing with voting rights weigh only one ounce. Southern legislators stress that this legislation covers many areas of difference, and that an eventual "civil rights" bill could leave the right-to-vote as a fractional part. They complain that "liberal" newsmen and lawmakers peg their offensive on the vote issue to gain popular support.

Loyalty Oath: Sixteen college and university presidents, defying the Ivy League attitude of Harvard and Yale, have declared themselves solidly behind the Student Loyalty Oath.

All of them have called for the defeat of Senator John F. Kennedy's bill which would repeal the non-subversive affidavit requirement for students receiving loans under the National Defense Education Act.

One of the presidents, George S. Benson from Harding College in Arkansas, stated simply, " . . . A normal young man or woman should be proud to declare loyalty to country." The President of Defiance College in Ohio, Dr. Kevin McCann, said: "Dr. A. Whitney Griswold [President of Yale] has raised a standard around which many will gladly rally. I cannot."

The 14 other educational institutions in which the presidents or chancellors rallied around the oath are: Norwich University (Vermont), St. Michael's College (Vermont), University of Vermont, Houghton College (N. Y.), Le Moyne College (N. Y.), Wheaton College (Ill.), Eastern Michigan College, St. Mary's College (Ind.), De Pauw University (Ind.), Alliance (Pa.), La Salle College (Pa.), St. Joseph's College (Pa.), Temple University (Pa.) and Villanova University (Pa.).

● Further information about those favoring the retention of the Loyalty Oath can be obtained by writing the National Student Committee For the Loyalty Oath, 2405 37th Street, N. W., Washington 7, D. C. The group has been organized by David Franke, a junior at George Washington University and Douglas Caddy, a senior at Georgetown's school of foreign service.

From the Morse's Mouth: Senator Wayne Morse, whose gift of gab adds many lines of type to the *Congressional Record* almost daily, may have talked himself into a real jam.

In the July 8, 1959 *Record*, the Senator said: "Any successful candidate for election to Congress who accepted (knowingly) so-called unfree money—that is to say, union treasury money—would be subject to having his right to a seat in Congress challenged under the Corrupt Practices Act . . . ."

Two weeks ago the Justice Department announced that a Federal Grand Jury had indicted six members of the Teamsters union for using general union funds to support candidates in the 1956 election. One of the recipients was none other than Wayne Morse.

Although the incident does not prove the Senator knew the money came from the union's treasury, it is a reminder that such statements as "It is also contrary to fact to give the impression that labor unions contribute to the campaign funds of candidates for Congress," are not necessarily true, even when they are uttered by the loquacious ex-teacher of law, Senator Morse.

Budget Battle: The failure of the grass roots to come to the aid of economy-minded Congressmen in the drive to cut the Budget is having tangible effects in Congress. On January 28 HUMAN EVENTS reported that Representatives Clarence Cannon (D.-Mo.) and John Taber (R.-N. Y.), chairman and ranking minority member, respectively, of the House Appropriations Committee, planned to cut out 40,000 of the 42,000 new jobs requested by the President.

Despite the efforts of Taber and Cannon, however, 16,000 new jobs have been approved and only 10,000 rejected in the various appropriations bills reported out of the House committee so far. Further, the Senate Appropriations Committee wants to restore some of the jobs cut by the House. What has happened, say those who know Capitol Hill, is that grass roots pressure on wavering Congressmen, to make them hold the economy line, has not been forthcoming.

Good Government Awards: Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) and Representative Graham A. Barden (D.-N. C.) have been selected to receive the 1960 George Washington Awards of the American Good Government Society for their contributions to the cause of good government. The presentations will be made at the Society's annual George Washington dinner, scheduled for April 30 in the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. The AGGS is located at 810 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D. C.

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Article Section II

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A Manifesto for America

What Is Needed to Strengthen Our Country

By HAROLD B. WESS
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IN HIS RECENT VISIT to this country, Khrushchev said that capitalism followed feudalism and that communism follows capitalism. When asked what will follow communism, he answered in typical Communist double-talk that since they had not fully tasted the cake of communism, why talk about it now? Someone should have pointed out to Khrushchev that in Russia communism was preceded by semi-feudalism and not by a capitalistic society, and that in China, communism was imposed on a feudalistic state. In all other countries, communism was imposed by military force or by infiltration and subversion by Russia and China.

Communists are trained in the skill of dialectical materialism, the theory that social and economic changes are the result of materialistic forces only. If we fail to challenge this untruth, it will inevitably lead us to the conclusion that only communism, the so-called classless society, is the answer to all human problems. Karl Marx predicted that ultimately the State as a force will wither away and the utopian classless society evolve. After more than 40 years there seems to be little indication that the State in Soviet Russia is showing any signs of withering.

Our reaction to Khrushchev's propaganda, as reflected in the press, radio and television, indicates a strong fear that Soviet Russia will overtake us militarily and economically and ultimately become the most powerful nation in the world. Even a former ambassador to Russia finds himself in the dilemma of suggesting, by implication, that there is little hope for this country unless we change the very character of our society. After enumerating areas of weakness in our society, such as over-emphasis on personal comfort and amusement, too much privately sold gadgetry, an educational system where quality is sacrificed to quantity, he had this to say: " . . . if you ask me whether such a country has, over the long run, good chances of competing with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say that the answer is 'no.' "

Is the implication of statements such as this one which have been made by others as well, and by some in very high places, that we ought *to impose a disciplined society on the United States? Do these people mean to say that within the framework of the free enterprise system we cannot meet the Soviet challenge? When people speak of our lack of a "national purpose," what do they really mean? They never spell it out.*

Underlying these pessimistic and alarmist statements is a tacit assumption that our social system, which has enabled us to become the greatest nation in the world through the fostering of plural centers of initiative with decision making and values concentrated not only in our Government, but in the home, in professional associations, business corporations, labor unions, church groups, universities and other forms of associations in a free society, can no longer work. Do they really wish to imply that the only way to meet the Communists' challenge is to become more like them? I submit that we do have a national purpose but that we have failed to spell it out and to be articulate about it.

In our present uncertainty and panic let us remember what our national purpose must not be—it must not be the easy road blueprinted by some dictatorship or powerful centralized Government. There were many in this country during the Nazi

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and Fascist era who believed that these doctrines were "the wave of the future." There are many today in our midst who likewise believe that communism is "the wave of the future." We must not compromise with our belief in the sanctity of the individual. We must not deteriorate the integrity of the purchasing power of the dollar. We must not forget that there are many millions of people with fixed incomes who see their purchasing power dwindle year after year to a point where they cannot make ends meet. Among these it is estimated that in the '60's there will be about 20 million people over 65 years of age. Above all we must not compromise with the underpinning of the Judaeo-Christian ethic of our society.

Let us not listen to the false prophets who would lull us into a sense of well being generated by inflation where people have more and more dollars that are worth less and less. This is a sure road to ruin.

WE MUST ALSO GUARD AGAINST anything that will slow up our ever-increasing productivity per worker. Increased productivity per worker is basically the result of the capitalist system of re-investing a substantial part of its earnings in new and better tools of production. But this is being eroded by ever-growing featherbedding and restrictive practices. If this should continue unabated, our productivity may slow down to a point where the Russians can overtake us, not because they are stronger than we, but because we are not making maximum use of our productive potential.

An example is the railroads. There was a time, years ago, when a run of 100 miles of freight took eight hours and a run of 150 miles of passenger service took seven and a half hours. Today the run from New York to Chicago of 900 miles takes 16 hours, but the railroads are required to pay nine basic days for the total run. The Chicago-Denver run requires eight different engine crews, each averaging a run of about two hours. Similar restrictive practices exist in the building industry, and in many other areas of our economy. One thing is certain, if we do not eliminate these restrictive practices our economic growth must inevitably slow down and our standard of living cannot continue to expand.

These are some of our national purposes and if pursued faithfully and vigorously, we need have no fear for our future either from communism or any other form of dictatorship. Our difficulties today arise from the fact that we are moving away from the fundamental principles that have been the underlying basis for the dynamic growth of our country.

We have failed to imbue our young people with the knowledge and understanding that what has made our Nation great has been not only our genius for production but also our jealous concern for the rights of the individual. If we had to name just one thing which distinguishes our society from that of the Communists, I would place the rights of the individual first.

After spending a lifetime as a business executive and having been in recent years a professor, I am disturbed by the lack of understanding on the part of young people of what makes our social system what it is. During a seminar in business management, for example, I made the statement that it is the duty of every businessman to participate in the civic, cultural and philanthropic life of his community. One of the students in unmistakable tones of animosity said, "What makes you think that businessmen are better qualified than others?" It was obvious that he was harboring a prejudice toward businessmen. This is not the first time I have encountered this type of reaction but it is surprising that it should come from students preparing for business careers. It may come as a shock to many that students in our high schools, colleges and even those in graduate schools are not taught the basic principles of our economy nor what makes for a free enterprise system.

Public debates in the press and other fields of communication seldom come to grips with these basic principles so it is not surprising that we panic every time there is a temporary downturn.

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Some who have been predicting the doom of our capitalist society have witnessed instead, not only survival, but tremendous growth and expansion. They fail to understand the uniqueness of our system which has forces within it to transform and adjust to changing conditions without changing its basic character.

In a seminar in human relations in business I find a lack of sensitivity to spiritual values. During a discussion of a problem involving human values I reminded my students of the teachings in the Sermon on the Mount. While they agreed these were noble lessons in human conduct, they did not believe that in actual practice they could be applied. In relating this to a friend of mine, he asked how I could reconcile my belief that this country has been built on the rock of the Judaeo-Christian ethic and my concern for the deterioration of these spiritual values. My answer was that we are still living on the accumulated spiritual forces built into our society by our founding fathers and the great leaders who followed them.

OUR WEAKNESS IS THAT WE are looking for easy and quick answers to problems. We will grab at short range reforms in spite of the fact that they may violate long range principles. A good example is our noble experiment of prohibition. Some well-meaning people, disturbed by the increasing use of alcohol, were influential in establishing prohibition in this country. Theirs seemed a simple solution—pass a law that will prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcohol and people would have to stop drinking. But they overlooked another law, that of cause and effect, and failed to anticipate the chain reaction which followed. Prohibition brought in its wake gangsterism and corrupt politicians which continue to plague us even today.

Let us take the recent steel strike for instance. Nobody will deny that a prolonged steel strike adversely affects our economy. The solution for some well meaning people would be a law to empower the Government to deal with such a situation. If this should mean that the Government will have the power to set wages and prices of steel, it also follows that it may determine the profit of steel companies. Should profits become so fenced in, the public will not be attracted to invest in steel companies. This would lead to insufficient capital with which to expand plants and improve machinery. Here we have what appears to be a simple solution but it could start a chain reaction which might conceivably lead to the socialization of the steel industry. Granted that strikes of the magnitude of steel are bad for our economy, we must be certain that the cure will not be worse than the evil itself.

A good many reforms being urged upon us today must ultimately lead us to socialism. We have gotten into the habit of using palliatives and hypodermics that were applied to alleviate certain economic problems 25 years ago which no longer apply to present economic conditions.

As a civilized and spiritual Nation we know that wrong means never justify ends, no matter how noble. In fact, we know that wrong means ultimately become ends in themselves. The noble experiment of Karl Marx of a stateless society, with each individual voluntarily contributing his labor and everyone receiving according to his needs, was established through means of dictatorship and murder. The means used have now become ends in themselves. Instead of a classless society there is a new and most powerful ruling class in Communist Russia; instead of a stateless society they have the most powerful state in the world and instead of freedom, they have virtual slavery. We must be ever vigilant that we do not adopt improper means which would curtail the rights and sanctity of the individual, or which would place too much power in any segment of our society.

We must not allow our horizons for the future to be beclouded by ignorance and the mistakes of the past. We must not allow precedents to limit our growth. Time was when man thought that only wooden ships would stay afloat and, so long as he believed this, he was bound by that precedent. As soon as he discovered the principle of flotation, he was freed from this precedent and began to build iron ships. So it is true for an individual, a business or a nation. So long as we allow

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ourselves to be bound by precedent and lose sight of basic principles, we stunt our growth.

There are many examples of how precedents are hemming us in right now. Take our farm program which was inaugurated years ago at a time when the farmer needed help desperately. This emergency action by the Government to help the farmer has become a precedent which we are unwilling to replace with the principle of the "free market place." We now hand out large sums of the taxpayers' money to big farming enterprises that should be able to establish a price-cost relationship and a healthy marketing program as other enterprises in our economy do. Instead, we depart from the basic principle of a free market economy, thus artificially keeping prices up, trying to keep production down without noticeable success, and of course, contributing an important share to inflation.

We have similar precedents such as subsidies and tax laws introduced for reasons which no longer apply and which in effect actually inhibit the growth of our economy by distorting economic incentives. Let us consider our foreign aid program which was started after World War II when most countries were in desperate need of help. We continue this aid as a precedent although the need has been considerably reduced. Today, there are many nations economically in a position to contribute their share to underdeveloped countries, but not doing so.

Another example of a precedent we seem unable to eliminate is the matter of fixing railroad rates. When the Interstate Commerce Commission first came into being, it was undoubtedly necessary to fix railroad rates, but today, competition among other methods of transportation makes such price fixing outdated and unnecessary.

These are but a few examples of how we have been functioning within the framework of precedent instead of fundamental principles. A nation, a business or an individual can only continue to grow by discovering and understanding the principles underlying its progress and growth and avoiding the pitfalls that bind it to precedent. Were this not true, we should still be primitive savages.

Our way of life, our capitalist society, is still in the process of growth and we must stop looking back at what preceded it and begin to think of the road ahead. Our manifesto for America therefore consists of adhering to the following:

1. *The sanctity of the individual must not be violated even though it may appear that communism has made great strides by doing just that.*

2. We must continue to increase productivity per worker as a basis for a higher standard of living.

3. *We must protect the integrity of the purchasing power of the dollar.*

4. We must avoid the danger of short range reforms as immediate palliatives if they violate our basic principles of long range objectives.

5. *We must not use wrong means to achieve desired ends no matter how desirable they may seem to be.*

6. Our best and surest way of meeting the Communist challenge is to keep alive the image of the destiny bequeathed to us by our founding fathers.

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